[p. 345A]

869 hear about these spots first in stories. Later
778 the parents point out the sacred sites as they pass by them. Many of the places are referred to as "doctor rocks." Children are warned never to run or play near them lest they should fall and become crippled.

869 Klamath religion is very closely associated
756 with shamanism[17] so that most of the religious attitudes acquired are directed toward shamans. Shamans are the most important, powerful, and feared individuals in the tribe. Small children are warned never to bother one, but to run and hide whenever a shaman appears, or he may cause sickness. Children are told, "There's a doctor; don't run in front of him, or he'll trip you. Don't ever look at him when he is smoking." Even the shaman's own children fear him.

861 Obedience is achieved by parents in a number of ways. They frequently scold erring children, small ones being perhaps most often threatened with some supernatural punishment for misbehavior. Whippings are not rare, but are probably never severe. A child is switched across his hands or the back of his legs with a willow switch, or the child's hair or ears are pulled. Corporal punishment is seldom resorted to unless the child has made the same mistake several times and has not heeded scoldings.

861 Obedience is also achieved by instilling in
776 the child a fear of ghosts, spirits, and other supernatural beings who kidnap bad children.
775 Owl is the most potent supernatural threat, feared by child and adult alike. When a child cries at night or is naughty, his parents threaten, "Owl will come to pluck out your eyes
[539] or carry you off to a cave." If the child fails to heed the warning at first, the parents call, "Owl, come listen to this child." The effectiveness of the threat is increased by the child's knowledge of the story about a baby who was carried off by an owl to a cave near Modoc Point. The baby gradually sprouted feathers and turned into an owl. Bear and Coyote are similarly used to silence a crying child.

In the same way children are warned about ghosts who might snatch them away from the camp unless they are good.[18] Ghosts hover about the camp constantly and are especially dangerous to little ones. For that reason children are never allowed out after sundown unless accompanied by an adult. The child is told to turn his left side and raise his left arm to a ghost if he ever sees one; only in this manner can sickness be avoided.

784 Since ghosts constitute such a peril, chil-
775 dren must never go near the cremation grounds where they might contract a ghost sickness, which can be cured only by a powerful shaman. Children never attend funerals, nor are they allowed to cross the path over which a corpse has been carried.

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[17] A thorough discussion of Klamath shamanism appears, ibid., pp. 93-138.

[18] Ghosts are described in Voegelin, elements 4655-4706.

[p. 346A] (ca. 1875)

857 water. Such duties ordinarily devolve upon the women, but young boys as well as girls help their mothers.

Children accompany their mother as she collects large bundles of wood, which she carries on her back. The youngsters pick up smaller pieces to carry in their arms. The mother may be the one to ask the child to help. As often, however, help seems to be voluntary.

> I saw my mother getting a load of wood so I picked some up in my hands. She was proud of me because I was helping.

[text continues on top of p. 346B]

LATE CHILDHOOD

857 562 The duties and responsibilities of a child increase greatly as he reaches the age of eight or nine. He still engages in many of the games and amusements of childhood, but he is expected to take on more and more adult activities. Training which has heretofore been largely casual and noncompulsory now takes on more serious aspects. Girls begin to take up feminine pursuits while boys learn masculine occupations.

857 If there are younger children in the family, the nine- and ten-year-olds may be called on to watch them and, if neglectful, the older ones are reprimanded. On the whole, however, the children accept the responsibility willingly, look after the youngsters around camp, teach them, and occasionally take them along on short jaunts away from the immediate campsite. Parents tell the youngsters to obey their older brothers and sisters.

• 861 Physical training is emphasized in late childhood. The strong, fearless warrior is one of the Klamath ideals of manhood. Women, too, are expected to be strong and brave. Training toward this goal actually begins when cold water is sprinkled on infants daily to inure them to hardships. Somewhat larger infants are held in the cold water of the lake or river to harden them to physical discomforts.

The father or grandfather forces older children to rise before sunrise each day, winter and summer, for a plunge into cold water and to run and exercise. The morning swim is more strictly enforced for boys; but girls also rise early, and many of them swim each morning. A few families start training a child in this manner at the age of five. Most start somewhat later, and some families are never strict in the matter, but such households have little standing in the community.

A boy of ten or twelve who whimpers when made to run to the lake in the morning is considered a weakling. If a child pretends to be asleep when called, he is whipped and thrown into the water by his father. The bravest boys never cry and are proud of being able to roll in the snow in the winter without calling out. Parents boast of a brave boy. But if he is lazy, they are ashamed and hope the neighbors will not hear of their disgrace. Only individuals who arise early throughout their lives to

[text continues on bottom of p. 346B]

857 Older children use a carrying strap when they go after wood. The strap is laid on the ground and sticks are piled on it. One boy sits down and fastens the strap across his forehead or chest. A companion then helps him get to his feet with the load.

Women carry water in baskets to the camp. The children sometimes race to see who can get the water first. When the child brings a basket of water to the house, his mother or father throws a few drops into the air, saying, "You'll grow as tall as that."

LATE CHILDHOOD

861 run and swim will be lucky and successful. Children are constantly exhorted to run and exercise in order to become "smart."

857 526 The older boys have a variety of contests to show their strength; these are in imitation of the competitions in which grown men take part.[20] They lift heavy rocks to see who can carry them farthest. They try to bend large saplings to the ground. They wrestle from a starting position in which the opponents face each other, with hands on each other's waists. The whole group gathers to watch the contests and cheer the favorites.

Foot races are popular among boys and girls as well as adults. The races are run principally on summer or fall afternoons when large groups are gathered on Klamath Marsh to gather wokas (water-lily seeds). Fast runners gain a great deal of prestige, so that all children aspire to be such. Children are spectators at the adult matches; then they organize their own. The adults are as eager to watch children's races as they are to observe their own. The best runners are cheered, and small bets are often placed.

In addition to contests of strength and foot races, there are fast shinny games which require good runners with endurance.[21] Both the men's game and the double-ball variety played by the women are occasions for much excitement. There is much rivalry between teams, and children are not permitted to participate in the most important contests. They do organize their own shinny games, however, and may play with adults in the more trivial contests.

At this same age boys begin to take part in organized shooting matches with bow and arrow or darts. The boy is taught by his father or grandfather to shoot with a small juniper bow. The boys' games are similar to those played by the men,[22] but boys are not required to shoot so

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[20] See Spier, pp. 82 ff., and Voegelin, elements 2509-2516.

[21] Shinny games are described by Dorsey, pp. 19 ff., Spier, pp. 80 ff., and Voegelin, elements 2170-2203.

[22] Arrow and dart games are described in Dorsey, pp. 17 f., Spier, pp. 81 f., and Voegelin, elements 2256-2270, 2278-2304.

[p. 350A]

224 868 not all men are good hunters.[39] Hides are valuable, however, and a good hunter gains prestige. Part of the rigid physical training of the boys is directed toward preparing them for hunting. They are told, "Only smart ones who aren't lazy can be good hunters."

As previously mentioned, boys begin to learn the use of bow and arrow when very young. After learning to shoot at targets, groups of boys hunt birds and squirrels near camp. They kill these easily with their small bows and light arrows. Parents are very proud of boys who can get many animals. The boys also go

[text continues on top of p. 350-B]

CONCLUSION

124 Since the data presented here were collected from elderly individuals and not from direct observations on a living culture, one should perhaps be rather cautious in arriving at any conclusions about Klamath education. Most informants were bitter about the breakdown of culture which they have seen in the present generation of young Indians. They often reiterated their belief that children were much better reared in the old days. There are, however, certain generalizations which may be validly drawn.

• 861 There is really no formal education in the sense of organized, planned instruction of the young. Yet most families expect their children to conform to certain ideals, and the parents work for the achievement of these goals.

854 For the first two or three years of life, the child's every want is supplied by his mother. It is she who feeds him, attends to his needs, and watches him most closely, although the father or older siblings may tend the child for short periods. The infant receives little or no fondling, but he is often the center of attraction for the adults of his house group who pause and talk to him as they pass his cradle.

857 868 In about his third year, the child is thrust into active play with his age-mates. He learns that he is expected to be brave, strong, and fearless. He receives praise from parents and other relatives if he is fast and ambitious. If he is lazy or cowardly, he is teased and scolded. Girls as well as boys must learn to be active, energetic, and competitive.

[text continues on bottom of p. 350-B]

[39] For hunting methods and customs, see Barrett, pp. 246 f., Spier, pp. 155-160, and Voegelin, elements 1-189.

[p. 350-B]

224 868 [787] [721] after ducks in the canoes. A few informants said that boys give away for luck the first duck or squirrel that they kill, just as they will later give away their first deer. The hunting of deer and other large game is done only by grown men, especially those who have sought and received special supernatural power either at the time of puberty or later. The art of warfare is another pursuit reserved for the fully grown although much of the physical training of boys is directed toward building strong and fearless warriors.

CONCLUSION

861 The child learns much through the medium of imitative play in which he plays at being grown-up. A large part of the play is spontaneous, but much is inaugurated and encouraged by parents or older children who show the younger ones how to entertain themselves.

As the child grows older he gradually acquires the skills with which he must be familiar. The greatest part of this knowledge comes from accompanying parents or grandparents in their daily routine of work. Adults often explain how things are done, but they have no well formulated program of education. The youngster is often the one to ask to be allowed to perform certain tasks. He is praised if he starts to help at an early age and is given what instructions he needs to carry out the work in which he has evinced an interest.

There are a few aspects of the culture which the Klamath themselves consider important enough to warrant formalized instruction. These are primarily concerned with demeanor and conduct. Children receive daily lectures on subjects of this nature, and are scolded or whipped when they do not live up to the standards. Physical training, especially for older boys, is also emphasized.

In all aspects of child training, the most important unit is the immediate family. The father in particular exhorts his children to live correctly; but the mother, grandparents, and other relatives also talk to the children.

On the whole, it can be said that Klamath parents do not have a conscious program of instruction for children in the techniques of ordinary daily activity. They do, however, feel a great responsibility to bring up their children well in the fundamentals of Klamath comportment.

Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are sometimes non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time, or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one) or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloofness. The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little experience with consistency in role relationships.

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear cut, specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu. In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts. This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture, but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society.

In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not adequately prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the household may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted, the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in inferiority is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, contributing in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebelliousness, or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites is not an easy one.

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

33. A Childhood Incident
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

539* 821

(1) When I was small, I always wanted to whirl around. (2) So I whirled around. (3) Then my mother said, "Don't do that! (4) You will get hurt!" (5) Then I whirled around, not minding. (6) So I then fell upon my stomach on a sharp place like this here. (7) Now I got hurt. (8) Then she spanked me with a piece of wood.

34. Marriage Customs
(Mr. Robert David)

539* 584

(1) I do not know it awfully well. (2) It was such a long time ago. (3) However, I heard thus, [that] these people long ago, when they liked each other thus, then they told their mother and their father too thus, "I want that girl," that man said. (4) "I want that woman." (5) And they asked, "Does she, then, want you? (6) Does she then want you, that girl?" they asked that man about that woman, his parents. (7) And he said, "Yes, she wants me," he said. (8) "Yes," they said, "Let us get ready." (9) They said, "We will get ready, and on this day we will gather together. (10) Now [you] will get her," they said.

(11) Now then they came [the groom and his parents are denoted by the verb]. (12) That man's people from this side will come—all the relatives. (13) And those from that side will do the same thing, her fathers [i.e., parents?], whatever they might be, the same sort of relatives of the girl. (14) And now they give [gifts] to each other the same way. (15) And those from that side give [gifts] to the groom. (16) All sorts of things that they have, even very valuable [things], they even did thus with horses long ago. (17) They used to give each other even many horses, if they had horses. (18) These horses have been here for a long time, among the Indians. (19) And they did thus, at that time. [431]

(20) Then when they had finished doing thus, now being pleased they did thus—now they made it tight [i.e., concluded the marriage agreement], having done thus. (21) On both sides they told [the couple], "Live as long as you will live, together. (22) You will be one now," they said. (23) Now they said, "Even however difficult [it might be], you will always

539* 585 581

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR 10 Klamath NR 10

37. Advice to the Young
(Mr. Robert David)

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861.

(1) I will tell [something] thus, again. (2) Some time back they advised me too. (3) When I was little. (4) And I remember it always, that. (5) Though even at that I did not do right sometimes, perhaps. (6) And when I was big and had finished school, then at that time I used to go around any old way, going in with [bad company] just as they told me, "Do not go among those who will do you evil! (7) [They] will give you a bad name. (8) [They] will teach you evil, something." (9) Thus they told me, long ago.

(10) "And you try to walk like a man, just as some of us have done. (11) And we have lived so long, although life is short. (12) If you do evil, then something will catch you, [and] they will kill you somewhere. (13) And even that same person will tell about you, 'He did it first,' who did it to you first. (14) He dares you to do something which is not right." (15) So thus they told us long ago, and to walk away [from evil]. (16) "If [someone] does not speak nicely to you, then walk away," they said. Yes. (17) "'I do not want to listen,' thus you will say. (18) Let him call you something, sometimes those young men, thus call, 'He is a woman. (19) He is nothing. (20) He thinks like a woman.' (21) Because [you] do not do just as they themselves do. (22) And some want to outdo each other, doing something bad. (23) And he says, '<u>I</u> am a man,' he says, calling himself [thus]."

(24) Thus they advised us long ago, to do that way. (25) "And, being cheerful, also, all will love you," they said. (26) "Anyone at all will love you, if you will be a good man," they said. (27) "And they will sympathize with [lit. "pity"] you, if something happens, if someone of yours dies—some friend, your close relatives. (28) So they will help you. (29) And anyone knows you [i.e., anyone will be your friend]," thus they [said] to us. "If you will meet anyone cheerfully. (30) You will not be ashamed, if you meet someone, who lives around you here, for so long."

(31) And they advised us thus, "Walk truly. (32) That is good. (33) It is the best [lit. "in a state of having outdone"] everything, if you will walk truly. (34) Do not tell anything falsely to anyone. (35) Do not imitate anyone doing something evil, which you see. (36) Love everyone thus—women, men, everything, elderly persons of that sort. (37) And you'll see that old man, who has now lived a long time. (38) Do not make fun of him either," they said. (39) "Do not make fun. (40) You

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 155]

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

will be that way too, sometime. (41) All of us will be thus, we will grow old." (42) Thus my old man [father?] told us—often to us in the evening—even in the evening he spoke to [us] thus. (43) In the evening, [as] we were sitting around the fire, in our house.

539 * 861 •

(44) And he always advised me thus, "Living like that is good," he said. (45) "If you do anything [wrong] like that, then you will never be able to live here—if you would be a trouble-maker—no. (46) Everything would hem you in, evil. (47) And the law would also follow you. (48) They will always catch you," he said. (49) "[You] can never hide from the law today. (50) The white men have brought us the law. (51) So we will do thus—now we follow it, we have with them—divided it recently—since we divided up the country with them—so we will do thus. (52) We will live as they have told us, having laid down the law on this reservation. (53) And they want us to live in this way, as long as we do not do thus, evil. (54) Then they would take us there, and they would put us inside, there where you do not come back out." (55) Thus they told us, long ago. (56) That's as far as [I will tell it].

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Introductory Note to Text 38

The informants for this text were Mrs. Amanda Cowan, Mrs. Pansy Chles, and Mrs. Cowan's son, Ransome. Mr. Andrew Ortiz, Jr., a young Klamath friend who does not speak the language but who has a great interest in the old ways, was also present.

Mrs. Cowan is reputed to be the oldest living member of the Klamath tribe, and her age was variously reported as 100, 102, and 104. She retains all her faculties, and the day the author's party visited her, she was spry and cheerful and delighted to help the author understand her language.

Mrs. Chles began the conversation by describing one of Mr. David's myths (Text 13), which she had heard on the author's tape recorder, to Mrs. Cowan. The machine was turned on at this time, and the conversation was left to run more or less freely thereafter. Later, the author asked about various Klamath forms whose meaning he was unsure of, and also about animals and plants, hoping to add to the corpus. Near the end of the session, Mrs. Chles discussed kinship relationships and

[126]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]